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A chapter on Russia, 7.

1850









A

# CHAPTER ON RUSSIA;

AND

ON THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.

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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

A

## CHAPTER ON RUSSIA,

*&c.*

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### I.

#### *Prefatory Remarks.*

IT is not without deep pain that I send the following papers into the world. Could I have had my will, it is to the Emperor Nicholas, in private, that I would first have communicated the substance of their contents, in the hope that that private communication would have sufficed for all the purposes of public good aimed at by this publicity. But I have sought the opportunity of such private communication in vain, in every quarter which seemed to me, in any degree, available for this purpose. I sought it at the hands of Lord John Russell, the British Premier, in the autumn of 1846: I sought it at the hands of the British Russian Company, in 1847: I sought it at the hands of the Russi

;                      PREFATORY REMARKS.

Consul-General in Britain, in 1848 : I sought it at the hands of the Duke of Wellington, in 1849. I did not seek it in this matter at the hands of M. de Brunnow, the Russian Minister in London, simply for this cause ; that, when, in 1845, I addressed him on other matters, he, with the gross discourtesy fashionable in the diplomatic service, left my communication without reply <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Lest it should be supposed, as is not unnatural, that there must have been something in the contents of my letter to Baron Brunnow to justify him in his discourtesy, I will simply state the whole of those contents, which consisted of three petitions ; 1st, that I might present, either to the Emperor, or to the University of Moscow (I forget which), a copy of my work on the Roman Schism ; the subject-matter of which I had reason to suppose to be interesting to the Russian theologians ; 2ndly, That I might dedicate to his Imperial Majesty a collection of documents relating to the Greek Church, which I had been at pains to make, with a view of ascertaining the number and nature of the points which would be considered as reasonable hindrances to the inter-communion of the Greek and British Churches ; 3rdly, That I might exhibit to His Majesty the very ancient connexion between the family to which I have the honour to belong, and that of St. Wolodimir. (See Genealogical Table I.) My hope in all these being to obtain favourable access to the Russian Clergy, for the promotion of religious peace. At the time I made that request, so utterly unacquainted was I with the modern history of Russia, that I imagined the family of St. Wolodimir to be still upon the throne, and expected to find in the Emperor one with whom, though at the distance of twenty-five generations, I could claim kindred.

*From what I have since learned of Russian history, as given in this paper, I conclude that the genealogical origin of the reigning*

But why, it may be asked, were you so anxious to see the Emperor? and why does it give you such pain now to publish these papers to the world? Simply, out of the sincere respect I entertain for many points in the character of that illustrious individual; and out of regard to the peril to which his dynasty and himself will, too probably, be exposed by this publication.

Though I am led to regard the course which the Emperor Nicholas is pursuing to be injurious to the best interests of mankind, it is impossible to contemplate him, his lofty demeanour on many occasions of peril, his free and open acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Most High, and his general noble bearing, without sincere respect and regard. A mighty instrument in the hands of the Most High, for good or for evil, as he may be directed. That, in the course he is pursuing, the Emperor believes that he is aiming at the honour of God and the welfare of mankind, I see no reason whatever for doubting: and therefore would fain, if I could, have obtained access to one so acting, in the hope and confidence of finding in his heart a response to noble sentiments, and to godlike views. That he is really misguided, to his own injury, and the peril of

family is too delicate a subject to be mooted in the imperial ears; and that Baron Brunnow deemed it his most prudent course not to forward my petition. Still, this does not clear him from the charge of discourtesy in not acknowledging the receipt of a courteous letter.

## PREFATORY REMARKS.

human kind, I see equal reason for believing ; hence the necessity of this attempt to arrest him in his course, and to save Europe, and especially France, the painful scenes, which, according to all human calculation, await them, if that course be not arrested. For that France is the arena, in which the death-struggle between human liberty and human despotism will be fought, unless the present course of affairs be stayed, few can contemplate the European chess-board without being led to think : and that, probably, before the end of the present year. The Emperor Nicholas (under the apparent impression of a Divine mission for that purpose) is concentrating his present resources for the suppression of that liberty, which (because of the wild excesses of some of its half-instructed advocates) he has been led to think injurious to God and man. France, on the continent of Europe, is the only refuge for that liberty : against France, therefore, the Emperor's aim must be bent. Germany, hitherto the barrier between East and West, now, by a concurrence of events, lies powerless to intercept his course. Austria, the first power of Germany, is in his pay ; Prussia, the second, (too probably by Russian intrigue,) is paralyzing all the rest. Already the Duchesse de Berri has been invited to Naples : and, almost simultaneously, the Duchess of Orleans to Britain. These are the two cards, *apparently*, in contending for which the soil of *France* will be outraged by foreign invasion, and

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LETTER FROM LORD PALMERSTON.

saturated with the blood of her own children and of the invaders.

To arrest such a fearful accumulation of evil while yet undeveloped, is an attempt worthy of any member of the human race, and therefore one, unquestionably, not alien from the office of a Christian minister.

It is under this conviction, that, notwithstanding the apprehension of evil therein arising to one towards whom, on many accounts, I entertain a heartfelt esteem, and whom I would most thankfully influence for good and save from evil, were it in my power, I have determined upon the present publication.

Little Bookham,  
Thursday in Easter Week, 1850.

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II.

*From Lord Palmerston.*

Foreign Office, December 12, 1846.

SIR,

I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st of November, stating that the Duc de Bourdeaux is the representative of the ancient blood royal of F

DISCOVERY OF THE

la, and offering observations upon Cracow, Cir-  
assia, and other matters.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

E. J. STANLEY.

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III.

*Discovery of the legitimate Heirs of Russia.*

THE Russian monarchy, according to the most approved accounts of modern history, was founded towards the close of the ninth century by Ruric; whose son Igor married Olga or Helena, a Christian princess of such exceeding virtue, as to cause the title "Saint" to be prefixed to her name in the records of that country: in the memory of the inhabitants of which her name is still held in reverence, as it is also retained in the present reigning family. From Igor and St. Olga proceeded a son Swetoslaus; and from him a natural son, Wolodomir, the first Christian ruler of Russia; who (on account of his pious deeds in founding the Christian Church within his dominions, and promoting the knowledge of that religion among his people,) is also accounted a "Saint" in the Russian calendar. His race, which

was revered as sacred, continued on the throne of Russia until the death of Theodore Ioannovitch<sup>2</sup>, 1597. On his death, who left no issue by his wife, sister to the celebrated Boris Gudenow, the sacred line of St. Wolodomir was supposed to be extinct; the throne was seized by Boris Gudenow, and great intestine troubles ensued, which terminated in the election of a new family to occupy the throne of the Tsars<sup>3</sup>. The family chosen to this honour was that of Romanoff; and the individual whose virtues recommended him to the voice of his countrymen was Michael, the son of Theodore, the son of Nikitius, the son of Michael, Archbishop of Rostow who was himself the son of George, the apparent founder of the family, and whose daughter Natali had been wife of John, and mother of Theodore, the two last sovereigns of the sacred line of St. Wolodomir<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Vitch in Russian is equivalent to the French Fitz, the English and Swedish Son, or the Celtic Mac: Fitz John Johnson, or Mac Ian, are the respective readings, of the Russian Ioannovitch.

<sup>3</sup> The word Tzar, or Czar, is the same with the German Kaiser and the Latin Cæsar.

<sup>4</sup> The Almanach de Gotha (1830) states Theodore Fitz Nikit Romanoff, the father of Michael, to have married a daughter of John, the last Czar but one of the house of St. Wolodomir; and consequently, Michael to have been descended, by his mother's side, from the sacred line. The authority for this assertion is not given. Against it, the reader is referred to the "*Univ. History*," vol. xxxv. pp. 273—306; and the authorities



## DISCOVERY OF THE

From Michael Romanoff, who died 1645, the town descended to his son Alexius (d. 1676), whose son was the illustrious Czar Peter, surnamed the Great. This monarch, who raised the Russian empire to an influence in Europe which it had never before attained, and transferred the seat of empire from Moscow to the swamps of the Neva; died in 1725. His successor (not immediate, for the widow of Peter the Great, under the title of Catherine I., held the throne for a few years) and grandson, Peter II. (d. 1730), left no issue. Then came Anne the niece of Peter the Great, then her great nephew John, the representative of her sister Catherine, wife of the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin, by their daughter Elizabeth, wife of the Prince of Brunswick. This John, being dethroned in 1741, after one year's reign, was succeeded in the empire by Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great, who dying without children, in 1762, left the crown, by will, to her nephew, the son of her sister Anne, who married the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. This individual ascended the throne of Russia, (January 5, 1762,) under the name of Peter III. He had for his wife Catherine, of the House of Anhalt Zerbst: by whom within a few months of his accession, he cited. Besides, such a marriage would have been within the prohibited degrees of the Russian Church, which grants no dispensation in such matters: for the Czar John's wife was herself a Romanoff, great aunt to this very Michael. The statement, therefore, in the Almanach de Gotha, involves a moral impos-

was imprisoned, where he died of poison on 9th of July in the same year: administered, according to universal belief, at the instigation of his wife, who thereupon assumed the reins of government, which she held until her death in 1796. This unhappy woman (a miserable victim apparently to human policy, irrespective of the Most High) gave birth, during her husband's lifetime, nine years after their marriage, to a boy, who at her death succeeded to the government under the name of Paul. His origin is thus stated. When his mother had been married eight years, without having a child, (her husband, it is said, had a physical impediment in the way of procreation; and, according to his wife's account, amused himself in her chamber by compelling her, with musket in hand, to go through the Russian drill, while he stood at the door, and gave the word of command;) she was introduced by the Chancellor of the Empire to Count Sohltykoff, and told to submit to his embraces, that she might present an heir to the throne. At first, it is said, she indignantly remonstrated; but the intimations of consequences attending her refusal, overcame her scruples. This is stated to have been the commencement of her fearful profligacies. Whatever his parentage may have been, Paul's mad conduct and reckless cruelty at length provoked the retaliation which most readily presents itself to a semi-barbarous people: he was murdered by the officers of *his own court* in 1801. This man, by his wife

Princess of Wirtemberg, was father of the present emperor, Nicholas I., who, putting out of view the almost certain illegitimacy of his father Paul, stands before Russia and the world, as the representative, by the male line, of the Dukes of Holstein Gottorp; and by the female, of the worthy Greek priest, Michael Romanoff, Archbishop of Rostow; but in no way descended from, or representing the sacred line of Ruric, St. Olga, and St. Wolodomir.

It is to the undoubted existence at the present time of descendants of that sacred race—a fact unknown to, or unheeded by, all the diplomatists of Europe—that it is the object of this paper to call the attention of Europe and of the world—of all, at least, who care for the improvement and civilization, the peace, the liberty, or the safety, of mankind; against which, from his accession to the present hour, the transcendent abilities of Nicholas Paulovitch have unhappily been directed<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Of course, when speaking of things at a distance, of which no certain tidings are attainable, there is great danger of incurring, quite unintentionally, the guilt of evil speaking. I desire that my writing in regard to Russia may be both penned and read under this caution. And if, in any thing, I unintentionally do injustice to the emperor, or to any other human being, I desire to stand corrected, and to make the utmost acknowledgment which the occasion may require. And thus much I will say, that in conversation with inhabitants of the newly-acquired Russian Finland, in 1847, I found none of that dissatisfaction at their transfer, that had been led to expect; on the contrary, they expressed themselves in the highest degree satisfied with their present position; and repudiated all wish for restoration to Sweden. But then it

It has been stated above, on the authority of the most approved historians, that on the death of Theodore Ioannovitch in 1597, the race of Ruric and of St. Wolodomir, which for upwards of 600 years had occupied the Russian throne, and secured the affections of that people, was supposed to be extinct; and thereupon a new family chosen to bear the crown. Happily it does not rest on any obscure or doubtful evidence, to show that that impression

is to be observed, that, until 1851, they can be no fair judges of the effect of the change; for the Russian Policy, with all newly-acquired territories, is stated to be, to allow them for a certain number of years comparative freedom from her vexatious customs, laws, and other regulations. This immunity, it appears, expires in Russian Finland this very year, 1850. It will be interesting to know, three years hence, supposing things in the mean time to continue undisturbed, how far the opinion expressed to me by my Finnish friends in 1847, continues still to be entertained by them. On the other hand, I will mention an anecdote strongly confirmatory, as far as it goes, of the impression generally entertained of the human misery engendered by the Russian system of government. I was crossing the German Ocean, I will not name ever the year, lest it should afford a clue to the individual, in one of the steamers from London, when my attention was attracted by the appearance of an individual on board; such a look of woe-begone misery I had never beheld upon a human countenance. No one could tell me any thing about him, of what nation he was, or any thing at all; though I made enquiries of captain, mate, and fellow-passengers. "Well," I said, "I will venture to lay a wager, that he is a Russian." "Why so?" asked my companions. "Simply," I replied, "because of his utter misery none but a Russian subject could look so wretched." I travelled afterwards with him on land: he was a Russian courier, in employment of the Imperial Government.

was incorrect. Every history of Europe may be cited to prove the existence, number, and exalted stations of the legitimate descendants of St. Wolodomir, then, and now. For all the histories agree in stating, that Henry I. of France had for his second wife a Russian princess, Anne or Agnes; described as being the daughter of George King of Russia; which George is no other than Jaroslaus, the son and immediate successor of St. Wolodomir; and that by this marriage Henry had two sons; Philip, who succeeded him in the throne of France, and died in 1108; and Hugh, who, marrying Adela, the heiress of Vermandois, assumed the style of Earl of Vermandois, and is known in history as Hugh the Great. With the family of Hugh, who, among other children, had a daughter married to Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Mellent<sup>6</sup>, whose descendants are numerous among the private families of Britain, it will not be worth the while to cumber the present paper. Let the attention be re-directed to Philip, the son of Anne, grandson of Jaroslaus, and great grandson of St. Wolodomir. All European history will show that from him are descended, by the male line, the royal families of France, Spain,

<sup>6</sup> The Editor of Giraldus Cambrensis, in *Anglia Sacra*, in a note (p. 89), says, that upon the death of the Countess of Flanders, who had succeeded to Raoul Earl of Vermandois; the wife of the Earl of Mellent [or as he calls him Beaumont] was of right entitled to that great inheritance. But whether this assertion is in all respects correct, the writer of these pages has not at hand the means of ascertaining.

and Naples ; and by the female, those of Great Britain, Hanover, Denmark, Prussia, Saxony, Sardinia, Lucca, and Portugal. That there may be other and nearer representatives of the line of Ruric than are to be found among the children of Anne, the wife of Henry I., is more probable than otherwise ; it being strange if, in the course of 500 years, no daughters of the House should have married and left issue ; which, by the received laws of inheritance, would have a prior claim to be regarded as representatives ; indeed, the author of " Revelations of Russia " intimates (vol. i. p. 265) that the family of Troubetskoi, the head of which is now in the mines of Siberia, is so descended. But, in the absence of documents to attest any nearer representatives, it is enough for Europe and mankind to know, that through the legitimate grand-daughter of St. Wolodomir, Anne, *née* of Russia, *mariée* of France, legitimate representatives of that sacred line, are to be found in almost every country, and on almost every throne of Europe.

Marrow,  
February, 1847.

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#### IV.

*Of the use to be made of the foregoing discovery.*

BUT what advantage, it may be asked, will either Europe or the world obtain by the establishment of this fact ? Simply, the knowledge that they have

and their power, without war or bloodshed, without violence or the remotest injustice, to rid themselves, at once and for ever, from all danger or fear in respect to the machinations against their peace and safety, rights, liberties, or improvement, which, according to common report, Nicholas Paulovitch, from his accession to the present time, has continued to take in hand.

According to the best opinion which can be formed of the condition of affairs in Russia, the secret of the emperor's power seems to be, the strong hold which the doctrine of the divine, inalienable, and indefeasible right of kings has upon all the members of the Greek Church, from the patriarch to the lowest moujik in the empire. It was this which would have led them to lay down their lives for Constantine, the present emperor's brother, but for his own abdication. It is this which will make them lay down their lives for Nicholas, were he ten times the tyrant he is represented, and equalled John the Terrible. But this feeling or principle only follows their belief of the *just title and inheritance* of the individual for the time being in possession of the throne.

Let the Russian peasants and clergy know, that legitimate heirs of St. Wolodomir exist ; and the days of the supposititious heir of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, as Emperor of the Russias, are *numbered* ; or rather, terminated. The fact has *not to be known*, and the life of Nicholas, unless he

speedily abdicated, would not be worth, probably, six months' purchase. No one is more fully aware of this than Nicholas Paulovitch, who, whatever his personal courage may be, has too much reasonable regard for his own life, as well as for the safety of his family, to whom he is understood to be really attached (one of the redeeming virtues of his character), for him fruitlessly to expose both it and them, by seeking to retain that which is untenable.

What, then, is the course to be pursued by the friends of the human race? It should seem to be this: Let it be intimated, courteously and respectfully, to Nicholas Paulovitch, that, if he will, quietly and without occasioning the loss of human life retire from the throne of St. Wolodomir, and permit the accession of one of the legitimate descendants of that race, who shall be acceptable to the people of Russia,—in that case, in consideration of his talents, which, if rightly directed, might be made eminently available for the good of mankind, and of his position, and of his family, he shall not only be allowed to go out in peace and with any reasonable amount of revenue which he may require, but may also have an empire assigned him on which to exercise, henceforth to the glory of God and the good of his fellow-creatures, the talents and energies with which he has been invested. Let the whole of Asiatic Russia, east of the Yenisee, be assigned him for his territory, under the guarantee and protection of the legitimate sovereigns of Europe, so long as he sh



remain content with that vast extent of dominion, and not seek again to disturb the peace, or oppose the improvement of mankind. Otherwise, let him know, that he must be regarded and treated as an enemy to the human race. At the same time let a proclamation issue restoring Finland to Sweden; declaring the independence of Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, and inviting them to choose their own form of government; establishing the freedom of Circassia, and throwing open its coast, and rivers, and harbours, to the commerce of the world; releasing Turkey from the degrading conditions of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi; and requesting of her, in acknowledgment of the boon conferred upon her by Christian Europe, to restore to Christendom the cathedral of S. Sophia; securing the protection of Wallachia from the terrors to which it has long been exposed; inviting the whole country formed by the Delta of the Volga and the Don, south of the Moravian town of Sarepta, to resume their independence, and invite to their shores the enterprise of Western Europe; further, offering to Novogorod to be restored to the rank of a member of the Free Trade or Hanseatic League, and to Archangel and Odessa, to Cracow and to Warsaw, to become also members of the same; and securing the free navigation of the Vistula, the Danube, the Volga, the Dwinas, the Dnieper, and the Dniester. Lastly, let an address to the Russians themselves be circulated among them in all their various languages, inviting

them to call home their exiles from Siberia, and to choose, under the protection of all Europe, for themselves from among the descendants of St. Wolodomir, whomsoever they shall most approve to be their future ruler, and the restorer of their sacred line. No one who knows any thing of what is passing in Russia can for an instant suppose, that against such a proclamation of liberty to all the foreign nations groaning under the autocrat's yoke and of free trade to all the merchants of the empire and against such an invitation of liberty to the captives, and restoration to the exiles ; and exercise of the most responsible duties to the Russians themselves, the single autocrat (who, beyond the members of his own family, has scarcely a heart among all the millions whom he holds in bondage that he can call his own,) could offer a moment's resistance. None (as was before observed) knows this better than Nicholas Paulovitch himself, and therefore we may rest assured that he will never put it to the proof ; but, probably, at all events ; unquestionably, if honourable terms are offered to him (such as have been above suggested), will of his own accord retire from the scene.

As to the question, which of the legitimate descendants of St. Wolodomir should be called upon to ascend the throne, vacated by the retirement of Nicholas Paulovitch, nothing has been said in the foregoing ; because that seems to be a matter which it should be left free for the Russians themselves

determine. Possibly they may be able to find within their own territory representatives of that line, nearer in legitimate succession than the children of the wife of Henry of France; among whom some one may be chosen, in all respects unexceptionable, and acceptable to the people; in which case all men would probably agree that they would do well not to cross the borders, nor provoke the jealousy of the different sovereigns of Europe, who are descended from the sacred line, by making a selection from among them. But if not, then it will be for the Russians to consider from which of the nations of Europe they will be most likely to find a man suited to the emergencies of the case, calculated to give them peace at home, develop their latent energies, and enable them to take the place which their numbers, extent of territory, and many excellent qualities entitle them to hold among the nations of the world. Whether the talents, habits, religious principles, and standard of morality, likely to furnish the required character, will be most probably found in the royal family of France, or of Spain, or of Sicily, of Britain, of Prussia, of Saxony or Sardinia, to name no others—the Russians must themselves decide. That, in strictness of hereditary right, Henry of Bourdeaux is actually the nearest in succession of the descendants of St. Wolodomir, whose legitimate claims have been established, there can be no doubt. But while it is probable that all reasonable men will allow, that, where a claim of

inheritance can only be established by a descent of upwards of 800 years, the strictness of priority may be safely waived, and the motto, "*detur digniori*," adopted ; it will probably also to the same extent be conceded, that the abject submission to the Jesuits, under which that unhappy young prince is reported to be trained, in an especial manner unfits him for the sovereignty of a nation professing the Greek religion, at open enmity with that of Rome ; anathematized and anathematizing ; and requiring the most enlarged ideas, and heartfelt value of liberty and free institutions, to enable him who may be called to be her ruler worthily to fulfil his most important mission. Further than this, it does not seem desirable to offer observation ; and, in truth, it is, after all, a matter of little moment, compared with the immediate arrest of the anti-social, anti-human, anti-Christian course as yet (apparently) observed by Nicholas Paulovitch. Whoever, among the descendants of St. Wolodomir, may be called upon to supply his place, will have before his eyes this consideration—that, as that change will have been effected, not for his profit, but for the welfare of mankind : so he must look to be upheld in that position, neither by the Russians, nor by mankind, any longer than he shall be found willing to seek that welfare ; failing which, it will be obvious to him, and to the world, that, as the legitimate descendants of St. Wolodomir may be said to be *the sand of the sea* for multitude, no difficulty

#### 4 USE TO BE MADE OF THE FOREGOING DISCOVERY.

be found in choosing from among them some other, who may more worthily discharge the responsible duties assigned to him.

Surely, under the Divine blessing, there needs not to speak the word, and all these things will be accomplished; and the year which witnesses them be marked in the records of the world as *annus mirabilis*, for the benefits which it will have conferred upon mankind: one which all generations will find reason to call "blessed." Such is the course which lies open to the friends of mankind; at the head of whom the nation of Britain claims to be reckoned! Such the work which may be said in a manner to be half accomplished by the mere promulgation of the proposal: and which (apparently) needs but the "Imprimatur" of Britain and of France, to be fully and speedily completed to the joy of the whole earth.

May the blessing of the Father of mankind rest upon the hearts of all the readers of these lines; moving them, as one man, to seek His glory, and the welfare of His people! And then—

"Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terrâ pax;  
Hominibus bonæ voluntatis."

Merrow,  
February, 1847.

— N N.

Anne = Charles,

10. Elizabeth,



## CHAPTER II.

*The present state of the Diplomatic Service.*

THERE is one branch of the public expenditure, and no inconsiderable one, which may well be reduced, and put upon an entirely different footing, not only without hazard to the honour of the Crown, or the interests of the people, but to the direct advancement of both ; at the same time removing one of the two only real causes, whence foreign danger or aggression is to be apprehended. I allude to the *corps diplomatique*, at best a childish bauble, a means of corrupt influence in the hands of the minister of the Crown, and a nursery of vice for the young men trained in it ; but, at the present time, a disgrace to our age and our religion.

When the glory of God, and the welfare of his people, were the objects for which Christian princes granted diplomas to their subjects to transact business on their behalf at the courts of their allies, the employment (though not free from those dangers which courts proverbially offer to those who are much concerned with them) was honourable and befitting Christian men. But this, for the most part, has long since passed away : is not only forgotten, but utterly and openly repudiated, by the parties concerned. I speak from experience.



my own personal knowledge. In the last three years I have been seeking, with the avowed approval of our Ecclesiastical authorities at home, and with the assured good will, in writing, of authorities abroad, to promote the cause of religion in Germany, especially as regards provision for the religious wants of our own people, the Queen's own subjects, in that country. I communicated my object, as in duty bound, to the civil advisers of the Queen, to the Chief of Her Executive and the Foreign Secretary; requesting that any objections which might present themselves might be named. None such were named, nor the slightest intimation given, direct or indirect, that any could be offered. I did not ask for money, though for the public service; nor yet for any interference in favour of the objects I had in view. The first I considered hopeless, the second undesirable. But for the honour of the Queen, whose Chaplain I am, I would fain have had authority to say generally, that this unexceptionable endeavour to promote the religious interests of her own people in foreign countries, and thereby to extend the peaceful and religious influence for good of our nation on the continent of Europe, without cost to the public treasury, had the general approval of her Government; for this I asked, and further, that instructions might be given to Her Majesty's *consuls* to offer no unnecessary impediment. Neither *these could I obtain*, neither from Lord Aberdeen, nor from Lord Palmerston; and when, having occa-

sion to write to the Prussian Minister of the Interior and of Religion, Dr. Eickhorn, I sent my letter, and seemed to me most respectful to the Queen, to Her Minister at Berlin, not asking him to support any of the prayers contained in it, but simply that it might pass through his hands, the letter was returned to me by Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, who refused to be the medium of presenting it, because "it related to matters which have no connexion with the business of Her Majesty's Mission to this court. Religion, which was originally the chief or sole plea for this service, is now utterly repudiated, as having no connexion with it whatever".

But if religion, and the peaceful influences which religion exercises, not only as binding the members of a nation together within themselves, but also uniting in one brotherhood different nations with the strongest bonds, form no part of the objects for which the Corps Diplomatique is upheld, the question is natural and obvious to ask, for what purposes do they serve? It is a melancholy answer which must be returned: one, as before observed, disgraceful to our age and to our religion. Apart from the childish pageantry, to which those appendages contribute, (indicative of weakness, rather than of strength; and ever prized the most by the feeblest,) apart from this, the institution diplomatique of

<sup>7</sup> See the letters of the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. Howard, the Author's "Result of an attempt to re-establish in Germany the ancient Ecclesiastical Mission of Britain."

Modern Christendom is ordained to disguise with titles, ribands, and gold, the (when nakedly viewed, confessedly dishonourable) office of *spy*.

The first general lesson which a member of this honourable fraternity learns, is to repay the hospitality of the court at which he is received, and of the different members of his order there, by a systematic espionage upon all their proceedings; and a diligent talebearing of any thing he may think worth communicating to his own employers. If information cannot otherwise be procured, it must be paid for; and the servants of those at whose tables he dines, and whose hands he shakes, must be in his pay, to betray their employers, and his host. So that some have been not unnaturally led to derive its name, not from diploma, but from διπλός μαθήανειν, understanding it to signify the study of duplicity. This is its ordinary character. But then does it shine out in its glory, when some selfish plot, and degrading intrigue comes on the tapis. Then "diamond cuts diamond," then "Greek meets Greek," then comes "the tug of war." — and —, — and —, (I need not fill in the names, nor even give the initials.) Well matched, most honourable pairs!

But now let us consider the reason of maintaining such an institution. That reason clearly proceeds only from the assumption of evil designs. To counteract these, espionage and double-dealing are *seemed fair* and honourable: but remove the suspicion, and all men, diplomatists themselves, will

admit the antidotes to be indefensible. Let but upright dealing be supposed to exist in the councils of Christian princes, one towards another, and what more reason can be assigned why Queen Victoria should endure a body of foreign spies at her own court, and maintain a body of them at all foreign courts, than why the Duke of Northumberland should maintain accredited spies at Trentham or Dalkeith, or admit from the Dukes of Buccleugh and Sutherland the like to reside at Alnwick? Let the nation, then, which is at the head of Christendom, take the honourable lead in abolishing this most dishonourable and unchristian practice! Let Queen Victoria, conscious in her own integrity of purpose, and therefore confident in that of others towards herself, dismiss from her own court all these accredited spies, and recall her own from foreign courts. Such a course will not only effect a great saving of most unnecessary and unprofitable expenditure to all parties, and tend much to improve the moral tone of courts; but it will tend also to give immense additional security against war, by removing one of the two chief causes which endanger the peace of Europe. For diplomacy, which was originally introduced for the maintenance of Christian peace, and averting unjust aggressions, has long ceased to operate in that character; but has become itself a chief source of danger. Its influence, which is *powerless for good*, is *mischievous for evil*. How

powerless for good it has been, the history of the w last years most plainly declares. The tens of thousands a year which we expend in diplomacy, neither preserved our ally, the Emperor of Morocco, from having his towns battered down in sight and hearing of our fleet ; nor our ally, the Dey of Algiers, from having his country invaded, his people butchered, and both surrendered to unjust invasion ; nor the Dey of Tunis, who had offered to place himself and all he had wholly at our Queen's disposal, from being constrained in lieu to accept of French protection ; nor the Ottoman Porte, who has again and again volunteered himself and all his forces for our Queen's command, from being surrendered to the tender mercies of Russia, and the degrading conditions of the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi ; and the noble Circassians from yearly butchery. Our diplomacy availed not to save Europe and ourselves from dishonour, when all the sovereigns of Europe, whose faith was pledged to the King of Holland, stood by in silence while France, in the face of all, deprived him of that which had been guaranteed to him by all : while we, out-Heroding Herod, turned our ships, which our faith demanded to be used in his behalf, against him ! Our diplomacy availed not to save Cracow from destruction, but put into the mouth of the British Lion a dishonourable growl, *while it withheld* the simple steps which would have *given effect* to well-deserved and indignant remon-

strance<sup>7</sup>. It availed not to prevent the occupation of Ferrara by Austria, nor did it contribute an iota to procure its evacuation. It did not avail to save Christendom and humanity from the revolting Spanish marriage ; nor has it availed, nor will it avail, to procure the only redress the case admits of, namely, sentence of Religious Divorce pronounced either by Pius IX. or by the Metropolitan of Spain, or (if the poor victim would receive relief from the ministers of a purer faith) one of the Primates of Britain.

<sup>7</sup> It was suggested on that occasion by the writer to the Queen's advisers, that the most honourable course for Her Majesty to pursue, was to send an embassy to the authorities of the Republic of Cracow, disregarding as a slander against her allies the account of the suppression of that free state. If upon the arrival of that embassy, admittance to it should be refused by Austria, or the report of Austria's destruction of that free state should be confirmed, then to interdict the Austrian flag from the British waters from Jersey to the Shetlands, until Cracow should be restored : and if Prussia or Russia should by any overt act countenance Austria's aggression upon the liberties of Europe, to treat the flags of those nations in the same way. Such a course would not have required the outlay of an additional sixpence ; there being abundance of our men of war, which might be usefully recalled for such a service to the British waters. A more peaceful and dignified attitude for Britain's Queen to have assumed, it is not easy to conceive. Had this suggestion been adopted, there seems little reason to believe that Austria would have made the Ferrara movement, or Prussia her aggression on Denmark ; which have already cost Europe such oceans of blood and misery and the evil consequences of which seem only at their commencement.

Powerless for good in all these cases, our Corps Diplomatique, for which we pay so largely, has clearly shown itself to be. But not immischievous for evil. Substituting intrigue for Christian principle, and the timid vacillation of dishonesty for the moral firmness of conscious rectitude, it has betrayed, one after another, all who were inclined to place confidence in the support of our nation—and it has provoked, without intimidating, the only other source, besides itself, from which hostility is probable either to ourselves or to the peace of Europe.

That other source of mischief is Russia, or rather the restless ambition of the Russian autocrat. Before this on every occasion British diplomacy has quailed. Hence all the inconveniences which of late years we have witnessed. Hence now the secret cause of all the uneasiness of Europe and of our own Government.

No one on the continent believes otherwise than that, though three powers danced at the reel of Cracow, there was but one master of the ceremonies or moving spirit: and that if either Prussia or Austria could have had firm reliance on Britain, they would neither of them have figured on that occasion. No one believes otherwise than that the occupation of Ferrara was played to the same piper, *and that it was Russian not Austrian money which was so profusely scattered for the Roman plot. the whole course which Austria of late has taken*

has been unnatural, unlike herself, suicidal, reckless. Nor can any one doubt that the means with which she is at this moment equipping herself for a conflict which must issue in her own destruction, are furnished by that one only power in Europe which would rejoice at such a consummation. Had Britain's diplomacy been based on Christian principle, offering that firm stay which British honour was of old time wont to do, none of these things would have happened. But when one after another in the cases of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Constantinople, Holland, our national faith had been exhibited as a broken reed, a byword like that of Carthage<sup>s</sup>; all Christendom and all heathendom alike have ceased to put confidence in us. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ* which Europe for the last two years has shed over her interrupted commerce, her desolate plains, her ruined cities, her butchered children. The fearful policy with which Lords Palmerston and Clarendon, Lords Minto and Grey, lent themselves to court the influence of an Italian prince in the affairs of the British empire; and with which the British Foreign Office fanned up in Sardinia, Rome, and Sicily the flame of insurrection, which it afterwards stood coolly by to witness quenched in blood and ruthless massacre, has only tended to lower us still more in the moral estimation of mankind.

<sup>s</sup> Thus far was written in the Autumn of 1847.



Whether now, in the eleventh hour, there is in contemplation a return to a better state of things, as the firmer attitude assumed at Constantinople would seem to indicate ; as also the (I doubt not, wise, prudent, and, towards Greece, kind) seizure of the Greek naval armament, by which we preserve to King Otho, uninjured, those ships which otherwise we should probably have been compelled to blow out of the water, or sink to the bottom of it, when hostilely directed against us by Russian intrigue (so I read that business), a few months now will show. I trust it may be so ; and that the protection of the weak against the strong which we have effected in the south-eastern parts of Europe may be extended to the north-western ; and neither Prussia nor any other power again be permitted, without stigma, to dishonour the independence of any free town or small state on the continent. If straightforward integrity and manly firmness shall again become the features of British diplomacy, that corps may yet be restored to honour, and Englishmen cease to have cause to blush at the mention of the British Foreign Office. That service may again be made available to the glory of God and the welfare of mankind. But if otherwise, there will be few men of independent principle in the kingdom who would not vote with Mr. Cobden for its total abolition, simply *substituting* for it an improved race of consuls ; in *the selection* of individuals for which important *commercial offices*, it is most fitting that the com

mercial interests should be consulted<sup>9</sup>. There are few other matters which might not as easily be settled by letters from London as by the presence of representatives; and in all cases requiring them, as now, *special* missions would be available; and be better served by men with minds fresh with common honesty, than by those whose misfortune it has been to be trained from early youth in the tortuous habits of modern diplomacy. No member of that corps, who, amidst so much temptation to the contrary, has succeeded, under God's mercy, in retaining a nice sense of honour, will be otherwise than thankful for any Christian effort to restore to its former estimation a once honourable service.

<sup>9</sup> See the Author's "Suggestions for the relief of British Commerce," p. 10.

Completed at Little Bookham,  
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THE END.









